INTEGRALIA
ELECTORAL
REPORT

integralia
CONSULTORES

ELECTIONS 2024

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

JUNE 21, 2024

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Balance of results

Federal level:

- The 2024 election consolidated the realignment of the party system that began in 2018. A hegemonic party system of an uncertain duration is being created and the three parties of the so-called Mexican transition to democracy are displaced from the center of the electoral map.

- Morena, Partido Verde (PVEM), and Movimiento Ciudadano won more votes in most states than they did in 2018; in contrast, PAN lost votes in 26 states and PRI in 31. PRD lost registration by failing to reach the threshold of three percent of the national vote.

- **Claudia Sheinbaum** became the first female president of Mexico and North America. With her victory, she got the largest number of votes in the history of the country and the widest victory margin.

- Sheinbaum received majorities in all entities of the country (except Aguascalientes) and in most economic and educational levels of the electorate. There is no cleavage in this election: Neither regional as in 2006 (when the country split into North-South) nor socioeconomic (as was slightly the case in 2018). Sheinbaum gave an upward push to all of Morena's candidacies. She won more votes than her coalition's congressional candidacies (approximately five points).

- In contrast, Xóchitl Gálvez received almost one million fewer votes than her coalition for Congress. More voters cast their votes for opposition parties than for their presidential candidate.

- Morena's cross-vote (the president-deputies vote difference) fell from 7.2 percentage points in 2018 to 4.7 in 2024, that is, the strategy of mass voting in favor of continuity worked.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Balance of results

- The Green Party (PVEM) emerged as a relevant player thanks to its (temporary) alliance with Morena. It will be the second force in the Chamber of Deputies and is getting stronger in some states, notably in San Luis Potosí. Movimiento Ciudadano also won more votes although, as a result of competing alone, it only won one seat in the Chamber of Deputies and lost the its seat in the Senate for the state of Jalisco, as well as the emblematic city of Monterrey.

- Despite the overwhelming triumph of the ruling party, the total of votes obtained by each coalition in the Chamber of Deputies seems more balanced: 54% for Morena and allies and 46% for the other political forces. However, it is likely that the ruling party will be able to obtain about 74% of the seats of the lower house, an abrupt distortion of representation caused by current electoral laws that does not reflect the political reality of the parties and coalitions.

- The much-discussed hypothesis that a larger turnout rate would benefit the opposition was partly verified. Indeed, PAN won more votes in electoral sections (the smallest geographic unit) with the highest electoral turnout. In contrast, Morena got fewer votes in sections with very high turnout, but their volumes of votes in all social strata are enormous. In addition, the call to vote made by various civil and business organizations did not resonate: the turnout rate fell from 63.4% in 2018 to 61.04% this year.

Local level:

- The Morena-PVEM-PT coalition won the governorship races in seven of the nine entities in dispute, accumulating 23 governors, as well as the head of government of the CDMX (24 in total). It will govern 77.2% of the population at the state level.

- PAN and their allies only retained Guanajuato and MC retained Jalisco.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Balance of results

- **There will be little counterweight at the local level.** Morena and their allies reached the majority in 27 local congresses.

- **Capital cities become a refuge for the opposition.** The PAN-PRI-PRD coalition will govern 17 capitals (up from 14), while Morena and allies increase their number from 12 to 14.

- At **the local level**, Claudia Sheinbaum showed superior performance in opposition strongholds such as Nuevo León and Yucatán. Many voters cast their votes for deputies and senators of MC and PAN, respectively, but for Sheinbaum for president. In contrast, Xóchitl Gálvez received less support in Yucatán, Querétaro and Coahuila, while Jorge Álvarez Máynez lost more votes in Jalisco, Campeche and Nuevo León.

- The **cross-vote between presidency and governorships** was accentuated in some entities. Considering the results available by coalition, in Morelos the difference in votes between the presidential candidate and the candidate for governor of Morena was 29.7 points. In contrast, in Veracruz, Puebla, and Yucatán, PRI and PAN governor candidates won more votes than their presidential candidate. While Sheinbaum pulled the vote in favor of Morena's candidacies at the local level, Gálvez did not.

Results of the federal elections

Presidency

Candidacy	Range of rapid count results		PREP	District count (final)
Claudia Sheinbaum	58.3%	60.7%	59.4%	**59.8%**
Xóchitl Gálvez	26.6%	28.6%	27.9%	**27.5%**
Jorge Álvarez Máynez	9.9%	10.8%	10.4%	**10.3%**

Deputations

Party	Range of rapid count results		PREP	District count (final)
Morena	41.2%	42.8%	40.4%	**40.8%**
PAN	17.3%	18.7%	17.1%	**16.9%**
PRI	11.1%	11.9%	11.3%	**11.1%**
MC	11.1%	12%	11%	**10.9%**
PVEM	8.1%	9.1%	8.3%	**8.4%**
PT	5.3%	6.1%	5.4%	**5.5%**
PRD	2.4%	3.1%	2.5%	**2.4%**
Independent	0.0%	0.9%	0.1%	**0.1%**

Senatorial seats

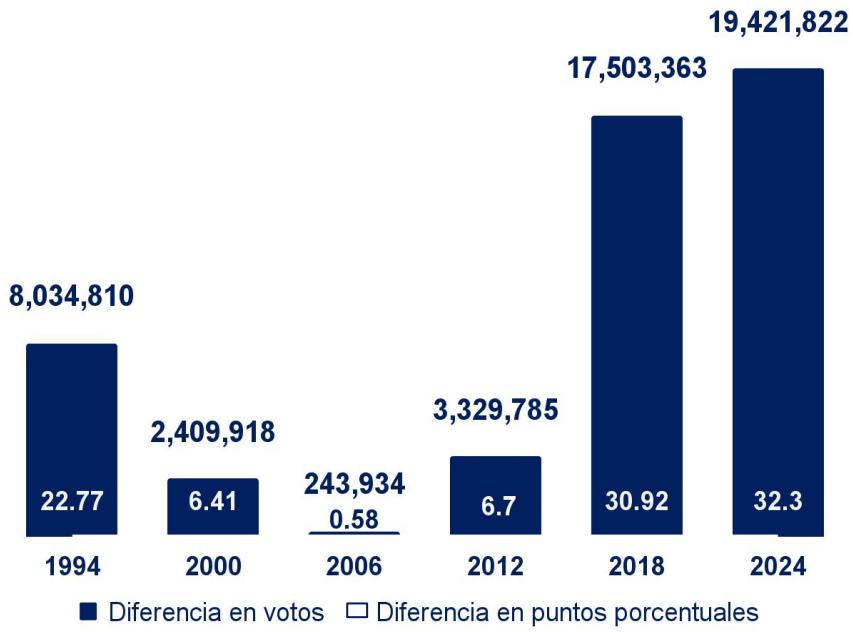
Party	Range of rapid count results		PREP	District count (final)
Morena	41.9%	44%	40.6%	**40.8%**
PAN	15.8%	17.9%	17.1%	**16.8%**
PRI	10.7%	12.3%	11%	**10.9%**
MC	10.9%	12.0%	10.9%	**10.9%**
PVEM	8.6%	9.8%	8.8%	**8.9%**
PT	5.3%	6.5%	5.4%	**5.4%**
PRD	2.0%	2.7%	2.3%	**2.3%**
Independent	0.0%	0.9%	0.1%	**0.1%**

Source: *Fast Counts, PREP, and District Computing by the INE.*

Victory margin and citizen turnout, 1994-2024

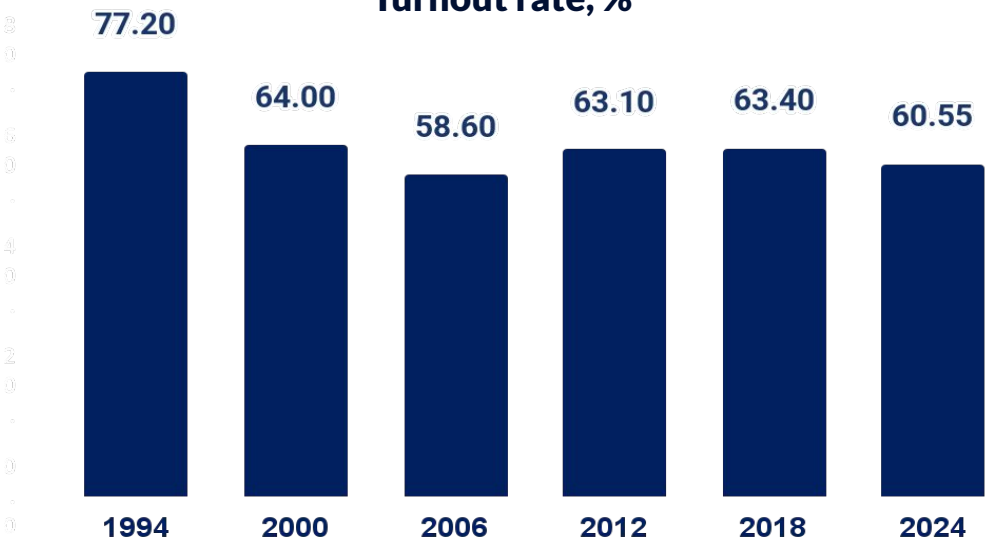
Presidency

Difference between the two leading candidates



Source: *In-house analysis with information from INE and UNAM.*

Turnout rate, %

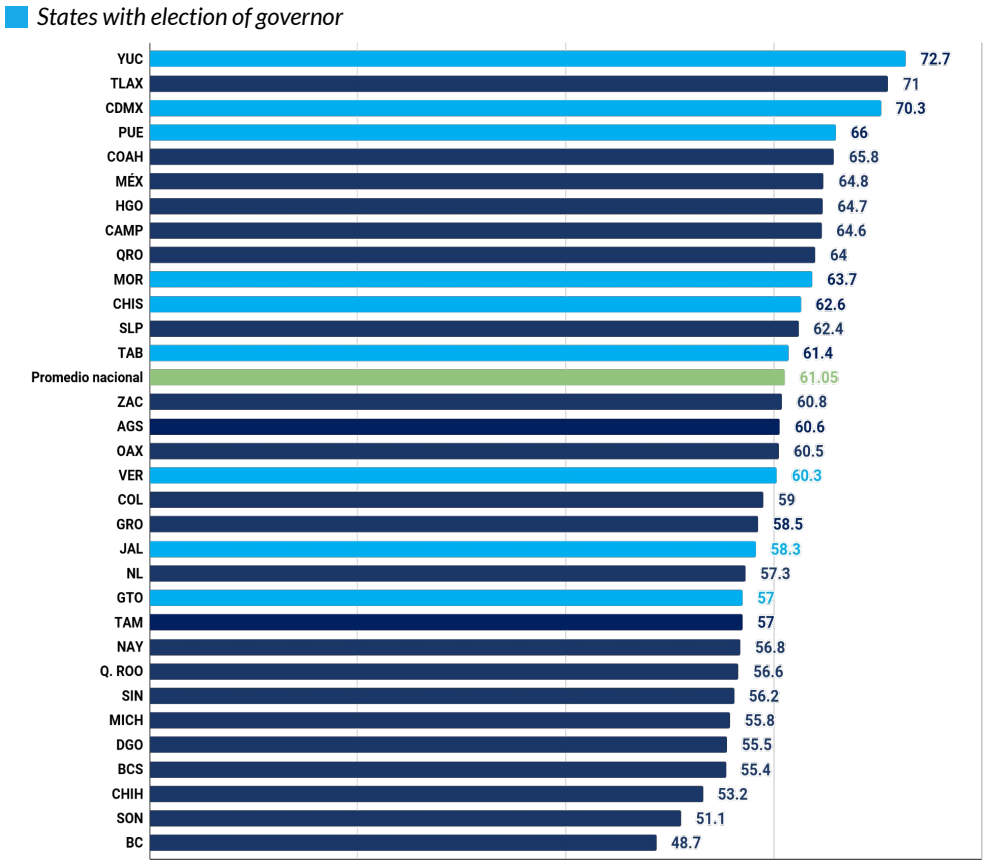


Source: *In-house analysis with information from INE.*

Citizen turnout

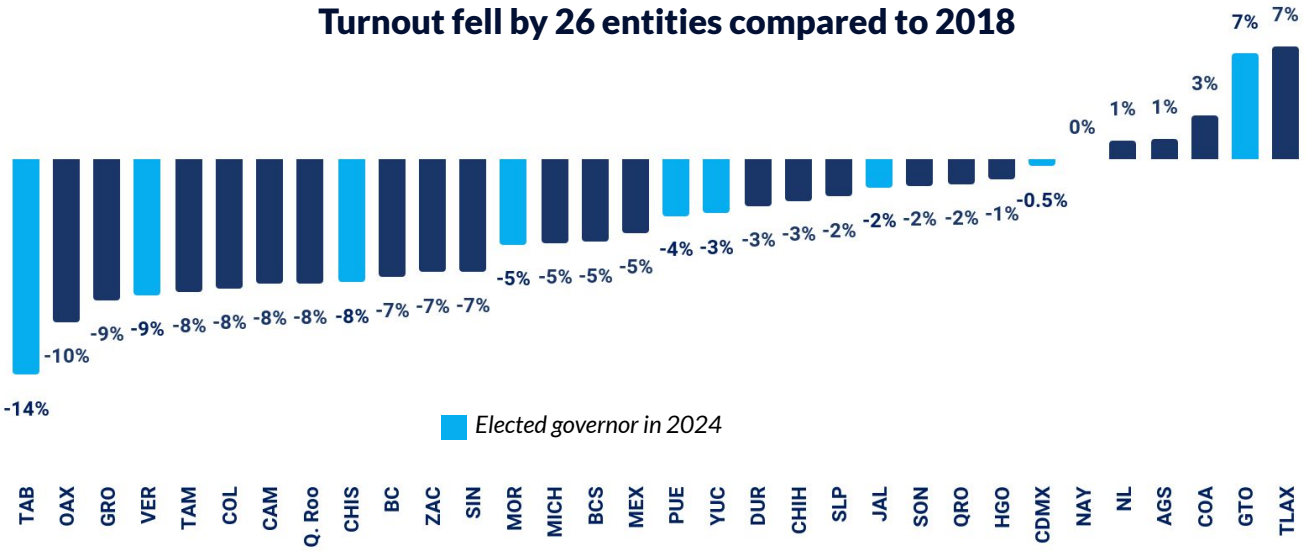
Presidency

Participation rate by state, 2024



Source: *In-house analysis with district calculations 2024 of the INE.*

Turnout fell by 26 entities compared to 2018



Source: *In-house analysis with district calculations 2024 of the INE.*

As turnout increased, Morena received a lower proportion of the vote, but the volume of votes they received in sections with lower turnout is enormous; the case of PVEM is the reverse: they received more votes in sections with higher participation rates, but their volume is small

Each point represents one of the 70,753 electoral sections of the country

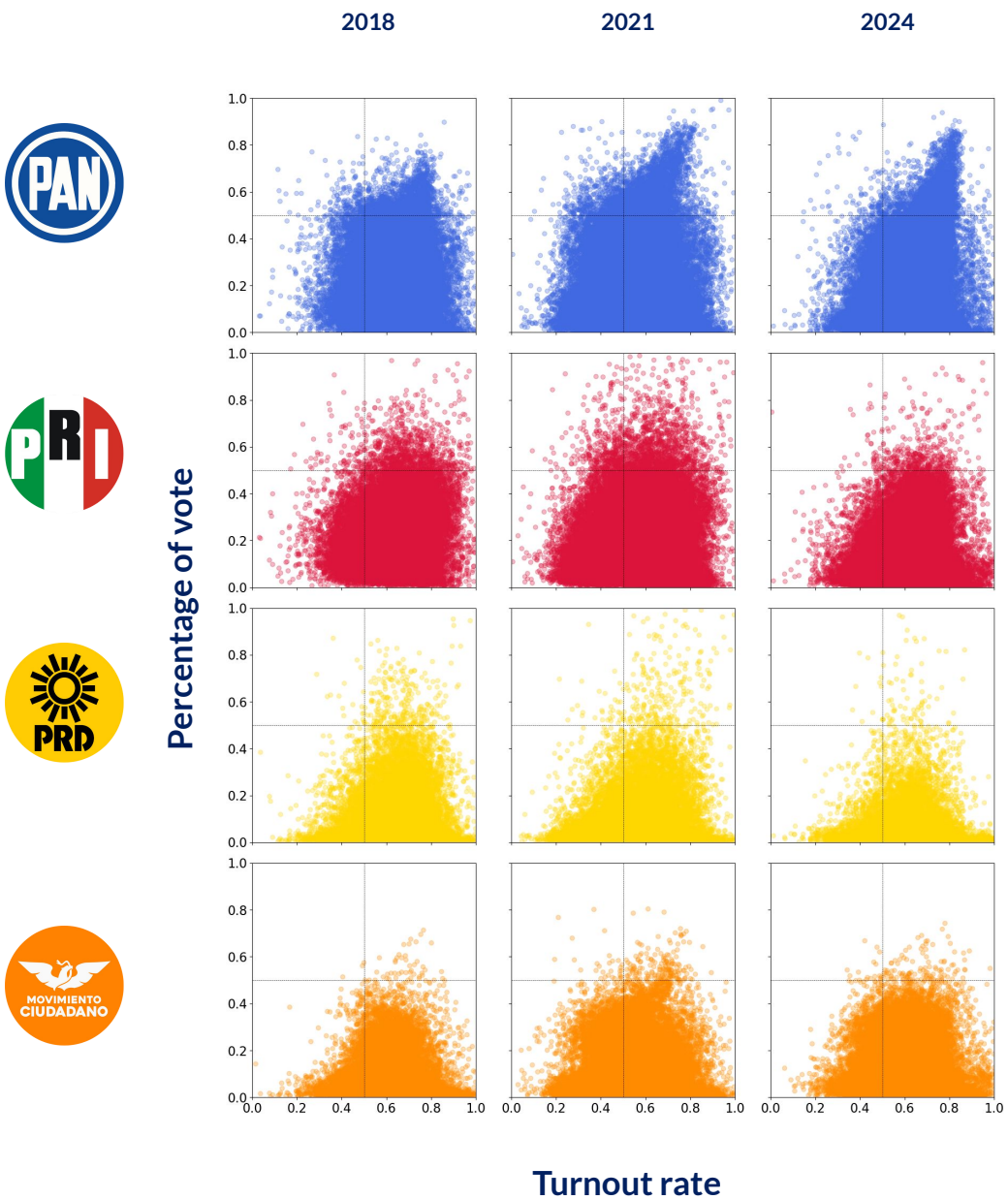
Source: *In-house analysis with district calculations 2018. 2021 and 2024 of the INE.*

Note: This analysis compares the proportions of votes obtained by each party in each section, in the federal deputy elections of 2018, 2021 and 2024.

How to read the graph? *The X axis shows the turnout rate in each section and Y axis represents the % of votes received by each party in the sections it won. Each point represents the behavior of each of the electoral sections.*

PAN received more votes in sections with higher turnout; PRI has a similar effect but of smaller magnitude.

Each point represents one of the 70.753 electoral sections of the country



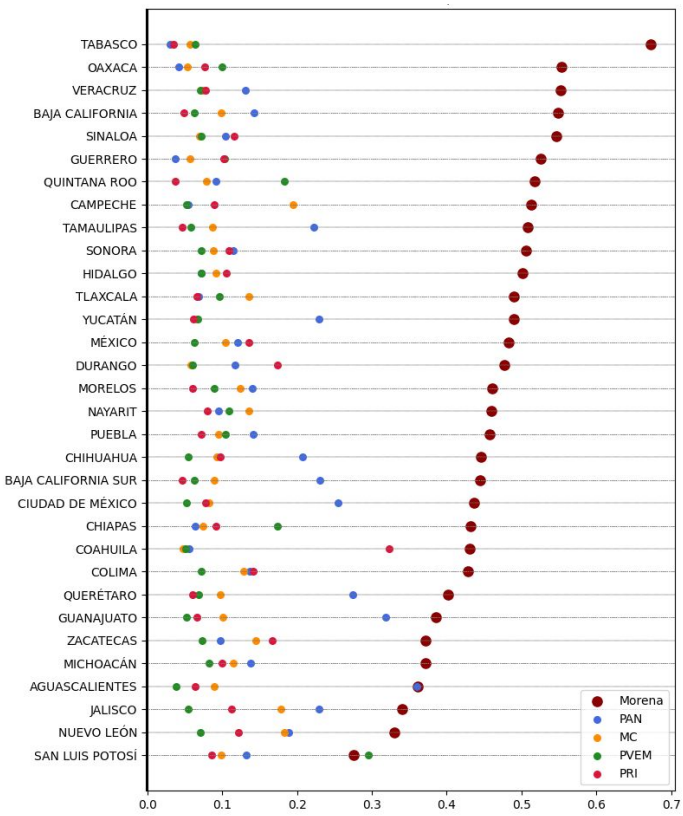
Source: *In-house analysis with district calculations 2018. 2021 and 2024 of the INE.*

Note: This analysis compares the proportions of votes obtained by each party in each section, in the federal deputy elections of 2018, 2021 and 2024.

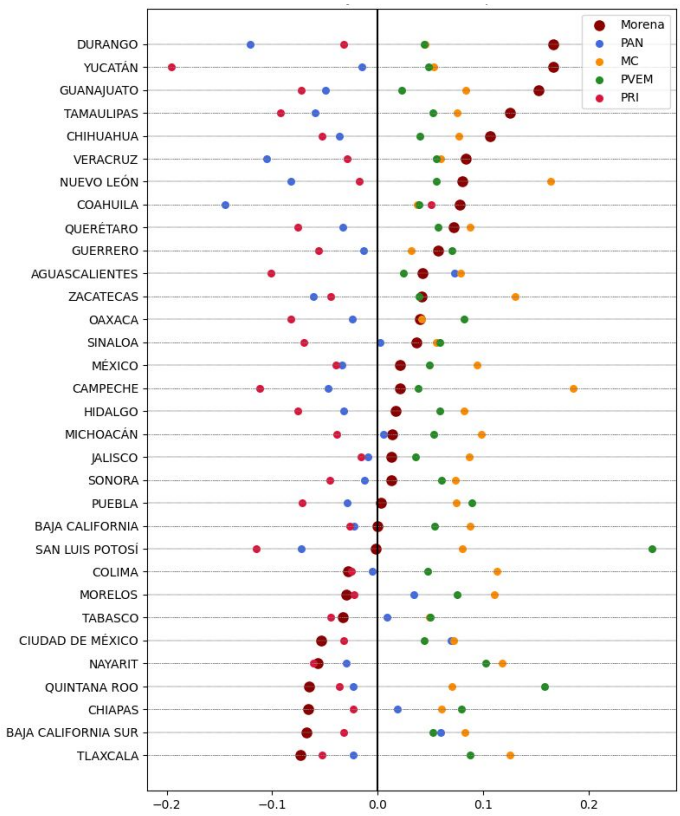
The Morena tsunami began in 2018; in 2024 it was the party with the highest increase in voting, although in nine entities their vote decreased compared to 2018

Federal Deputies

Proportion of votes for Deputies in 2024, ordered by Morena



Gains and losses of Morena between 2018 and 2024

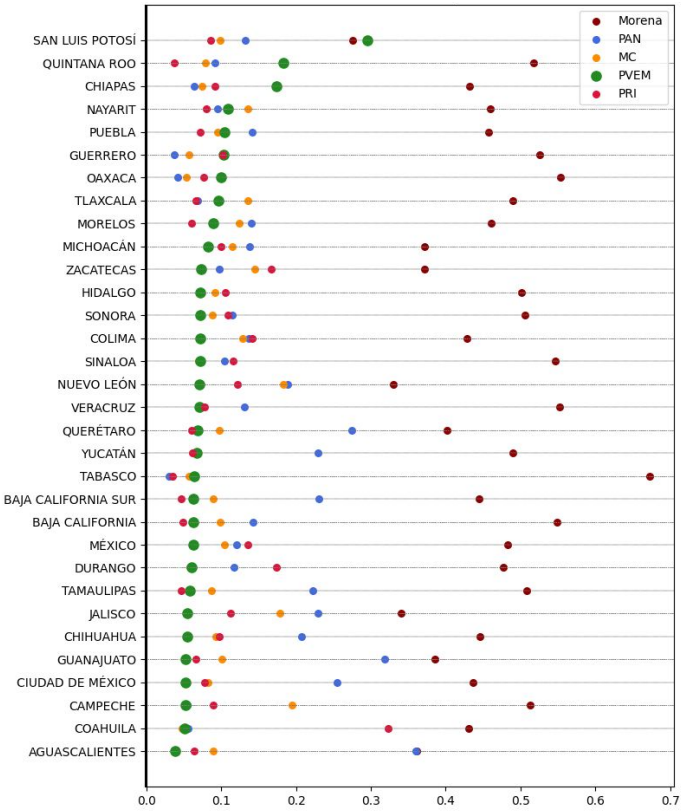


Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2018 and 2024 district calculations of the INE.

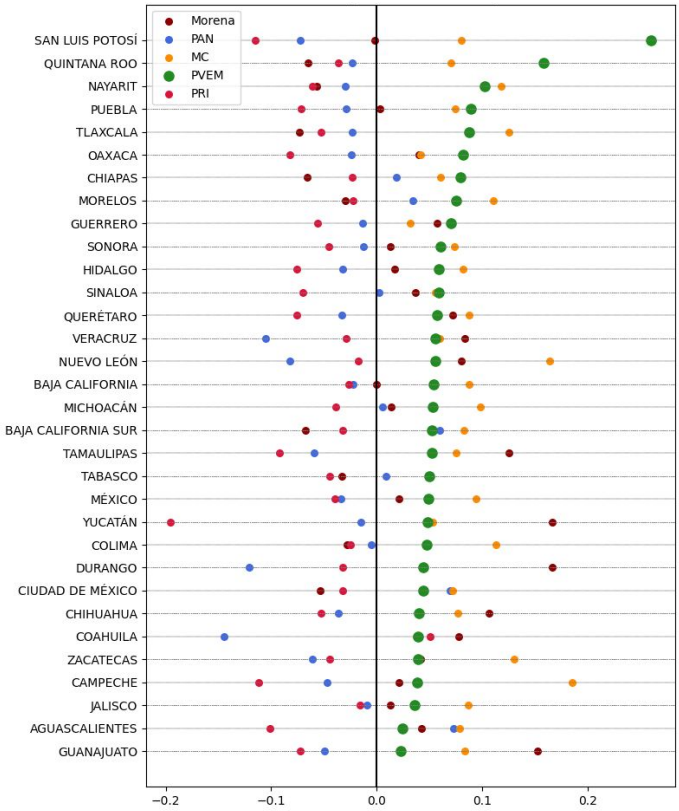
PVEM and MC are the only parties that won support in all states. San Luis Potosí is the new bastion of the PVEM

Federal Deputies

Proportion of votes for deputies in 2024, ordered by the PVEM



Gains and losses of the PVEM between 2018 and 2024

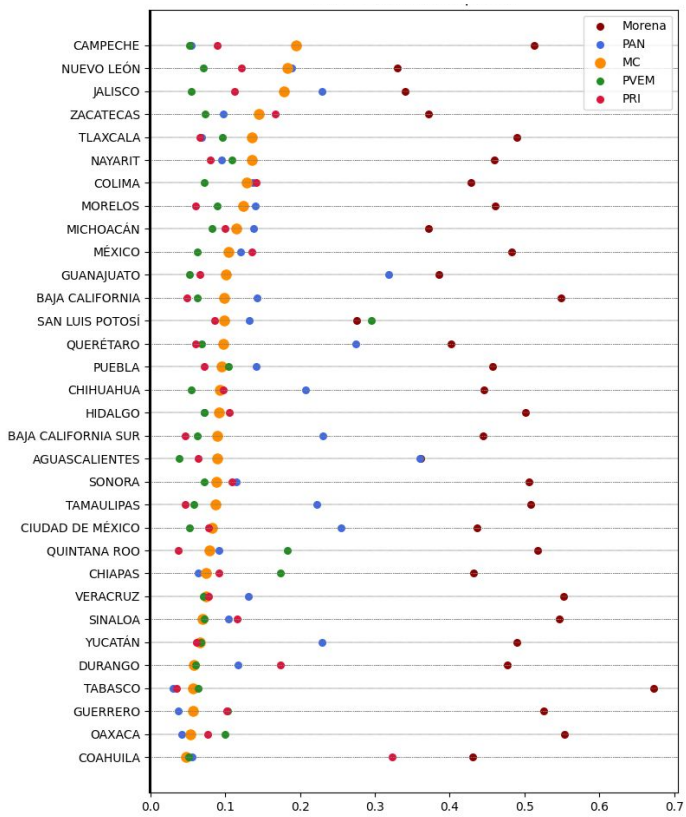


Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2018 and 2024 district calculations of the INE.

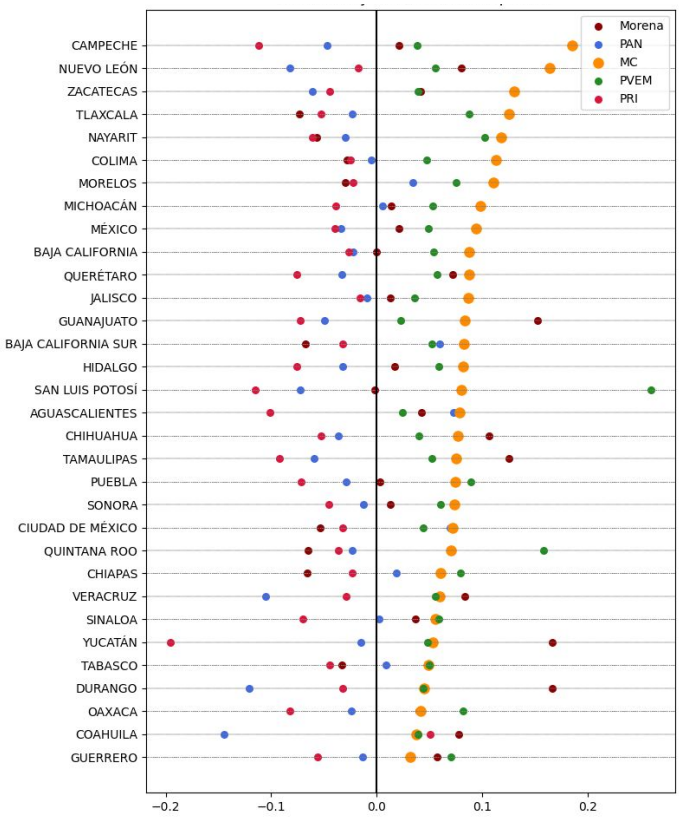
PVEM and MC are the only parties that won support in all states. Campeche, Nuevo León and Jalisco are the entities with the highest vote for MC

Federal Deputies

Proportion of vote for Deputies in 2024, ordered by MC



Gains and losses of MC between 2018 and 2024

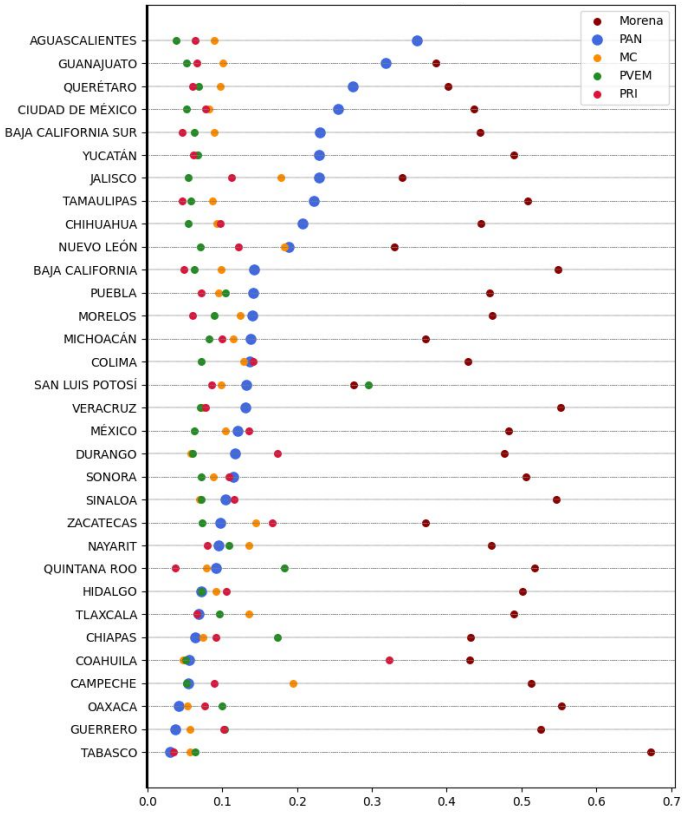


Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2018 and 2024 district calculations of the INE.

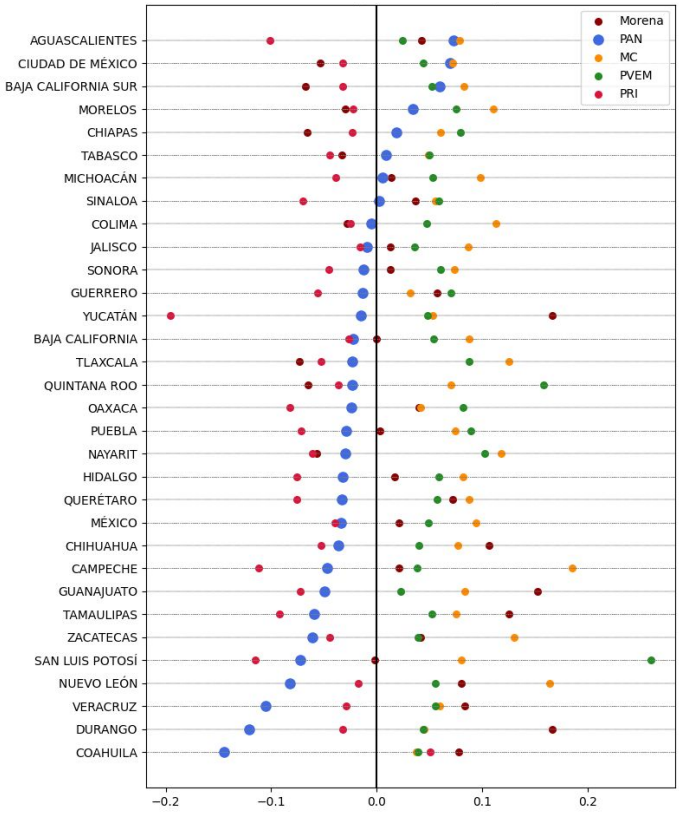
PAN loses polls in 26 states; Aguascalientes is the new PVEM stronghold

Federal Deputies

Proportion of votes for Deputies in 2024, ordered by PAN



Gains and losses of PAN between 2018 and 2024

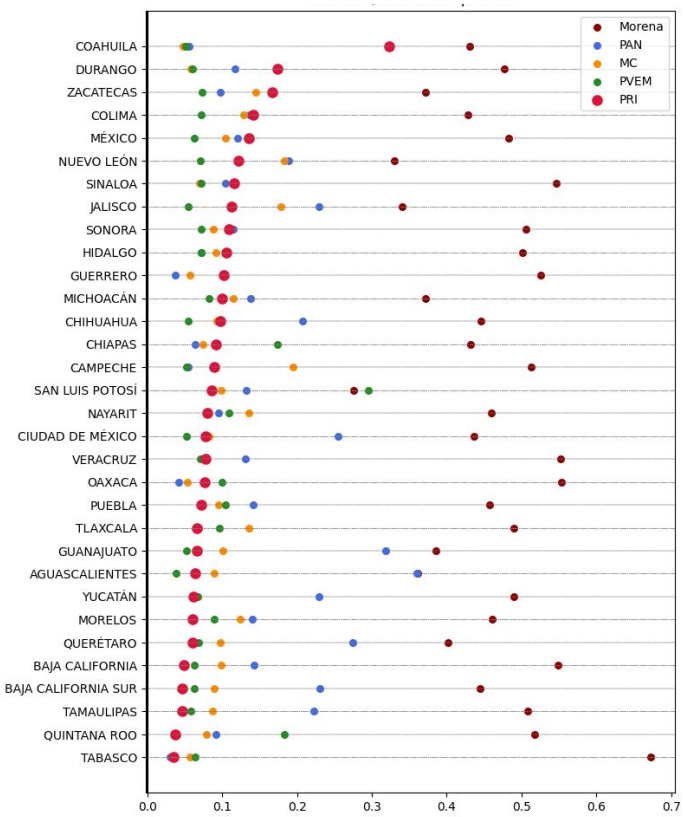


Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2018 and 2024 district calculations of the INE.

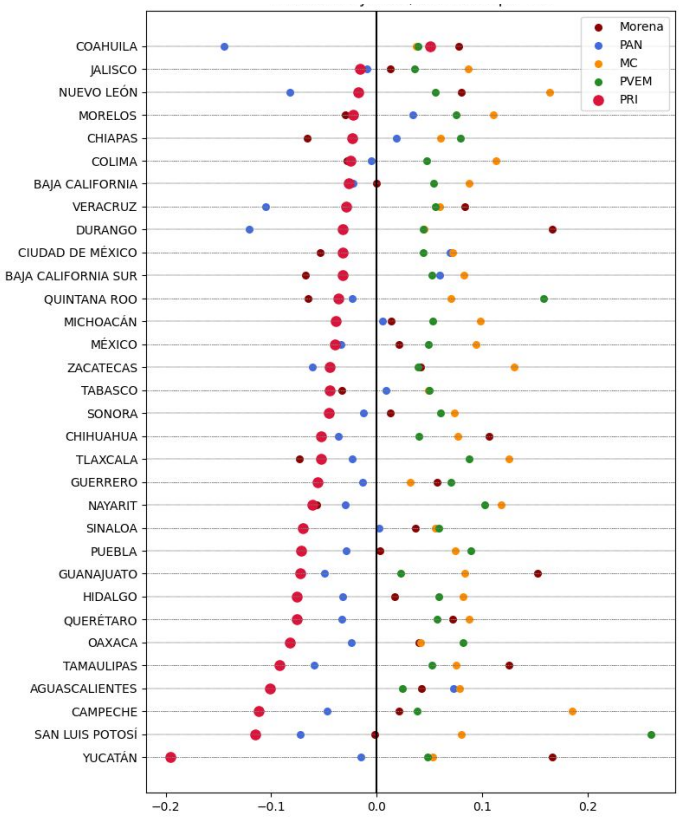
Compared to 2018, PRI loses polls in 31 entities, with the exception of Coahuila

Federal Deputies

Proportion of votes for Deputies in 2024, ordered by PRI



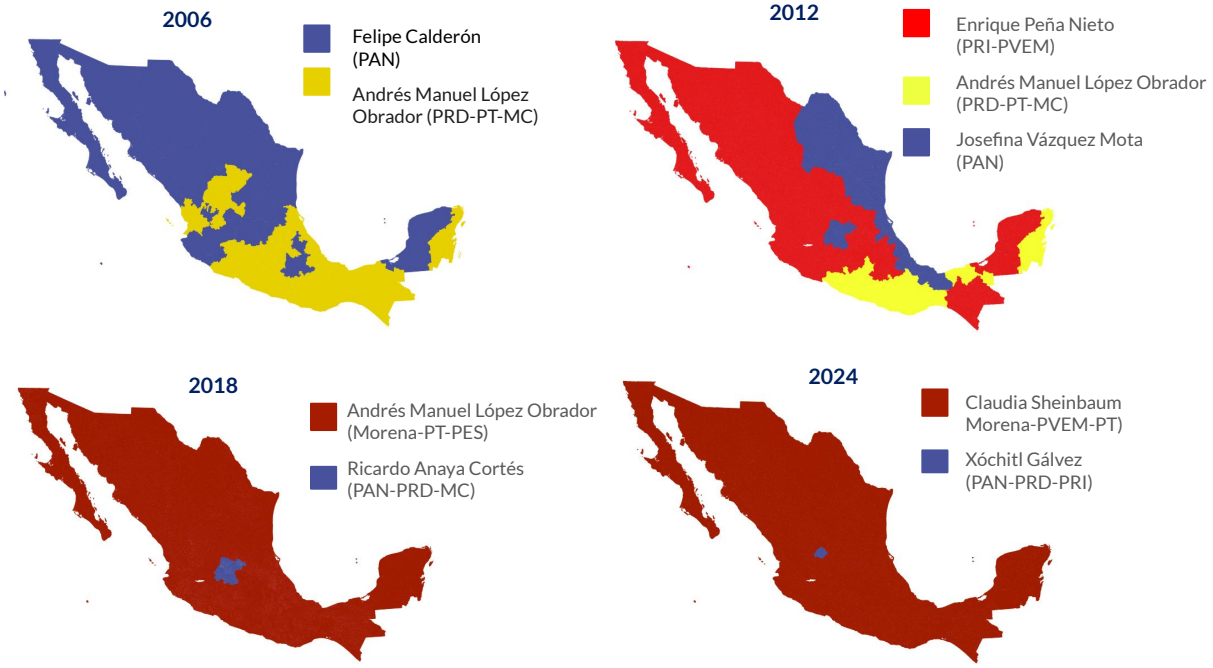
Gains and losses of PRI between



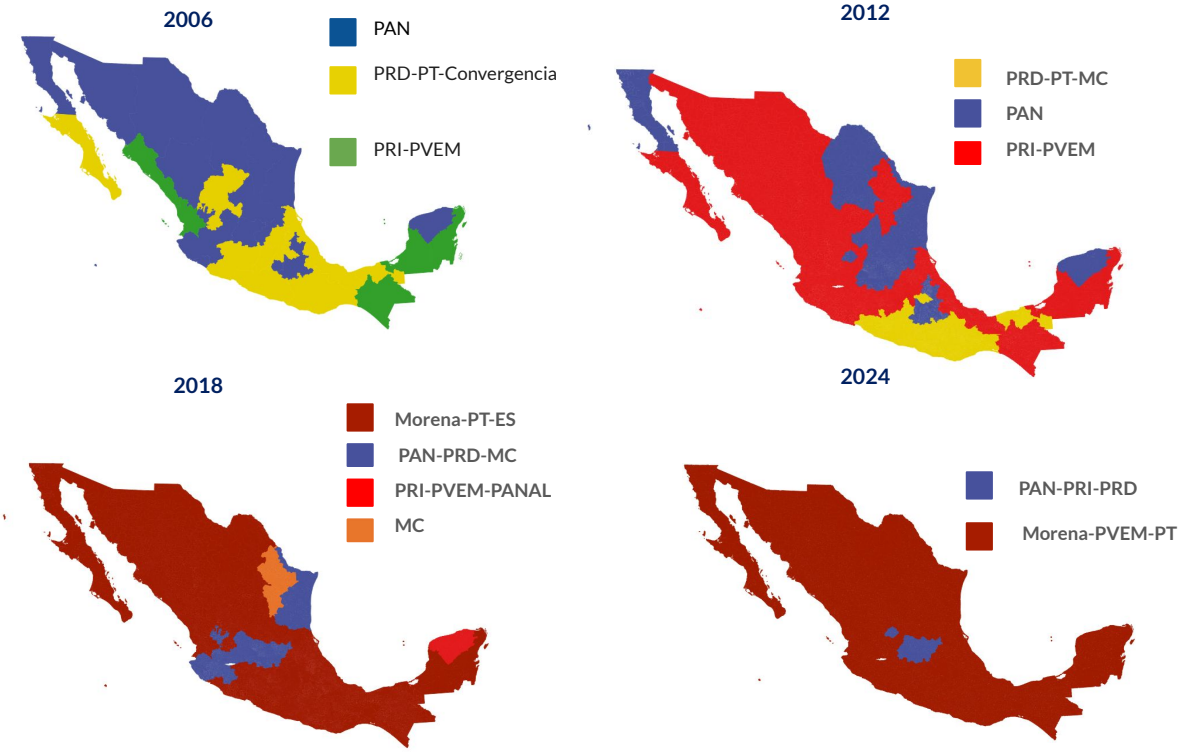
Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2018 and 2024 district calculations of the INE.

Evolution of voting at the state level, 2006-2024

Presidency



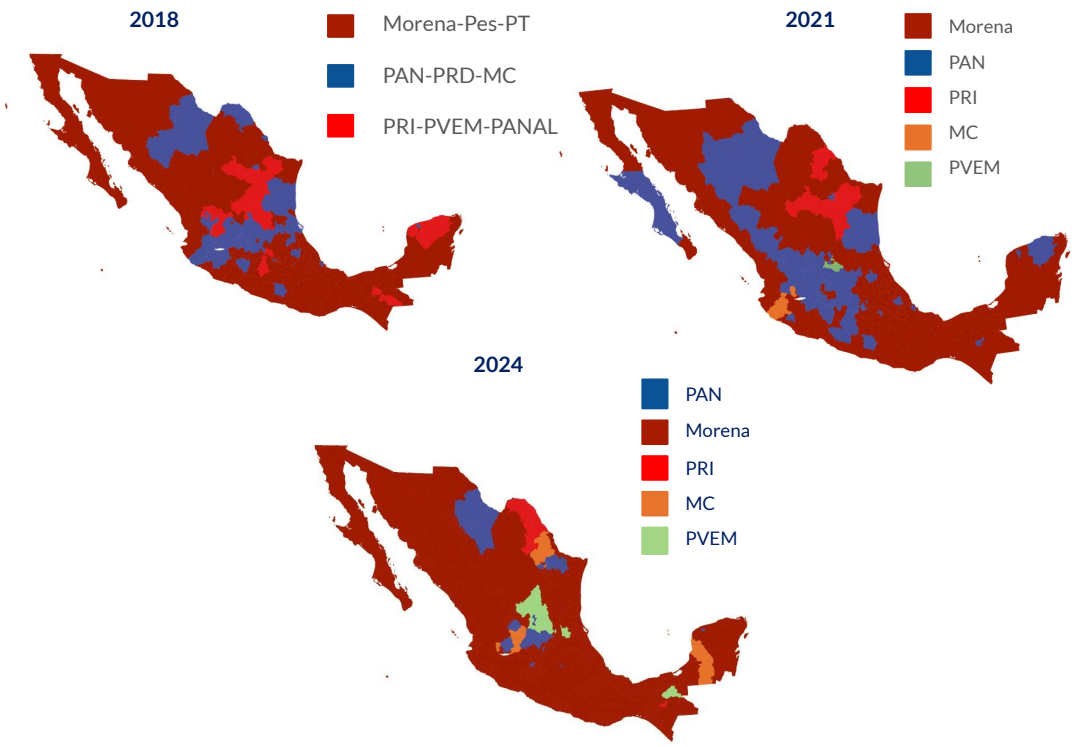
Senate



Source: In-house analysis with data of district calculations for each year of the IFE/INE.

Evolution of voting at district level, 2018-2024

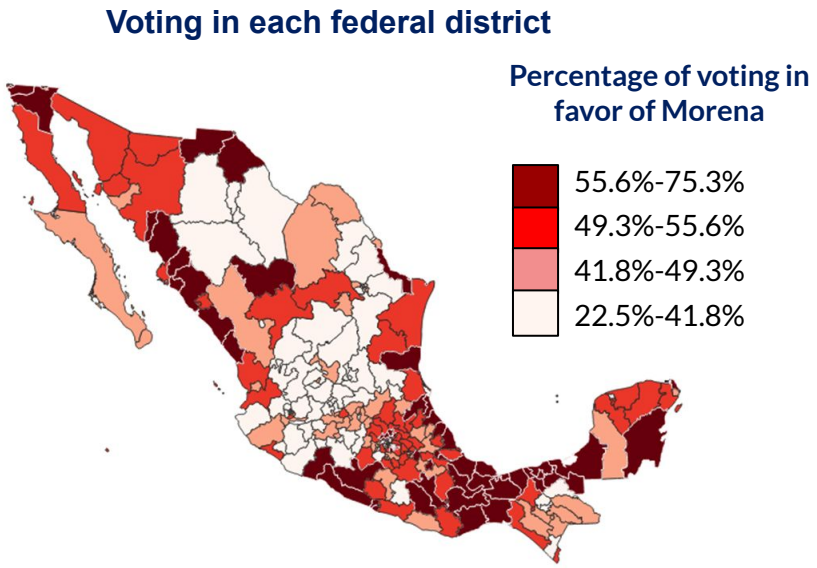
Federal Deputies



Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2018, 2021 and 2024 district calculations of the INE.

Consolidation of the hegemony of Morena, 2024

Presidency

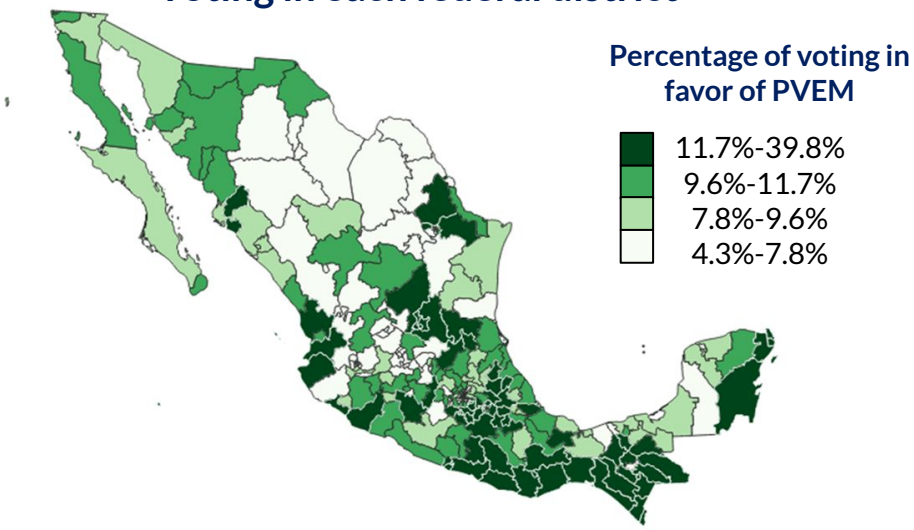


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

PVEM vote, 2024

Presidency

Voting in each federal district

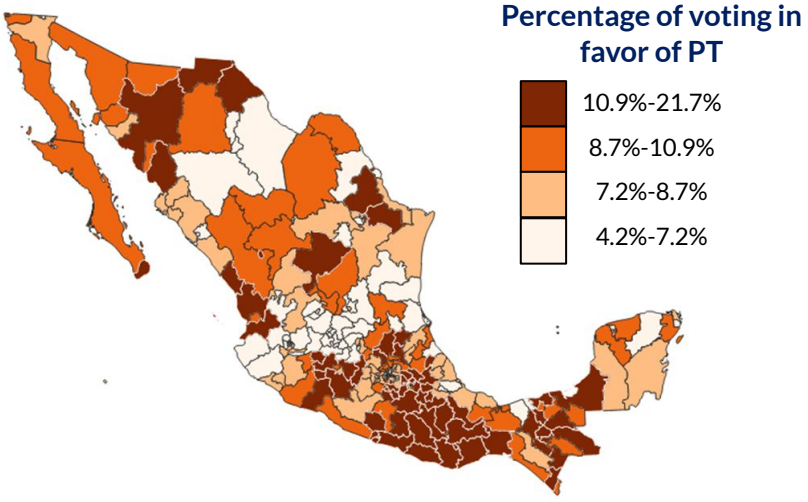


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

PT vote, 2024

Presidency

Voting in each federal district

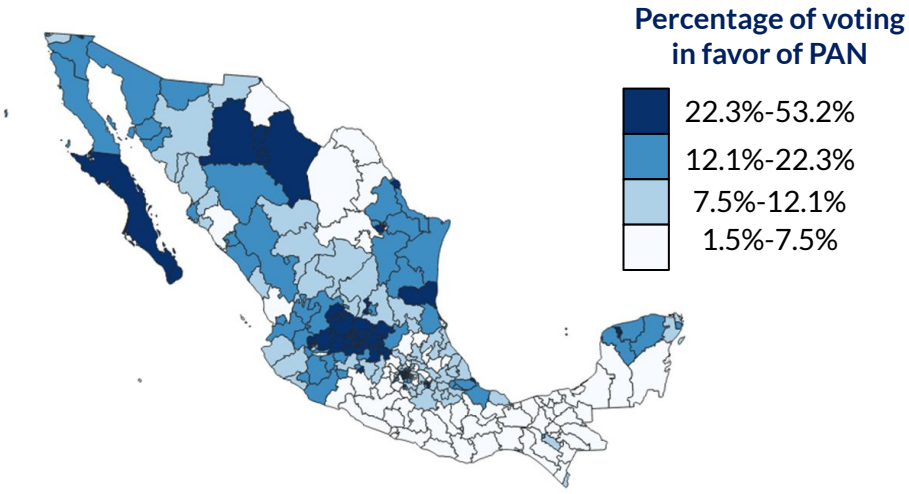


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

PAN vote, 2024

Presidency

Voting in each federal district

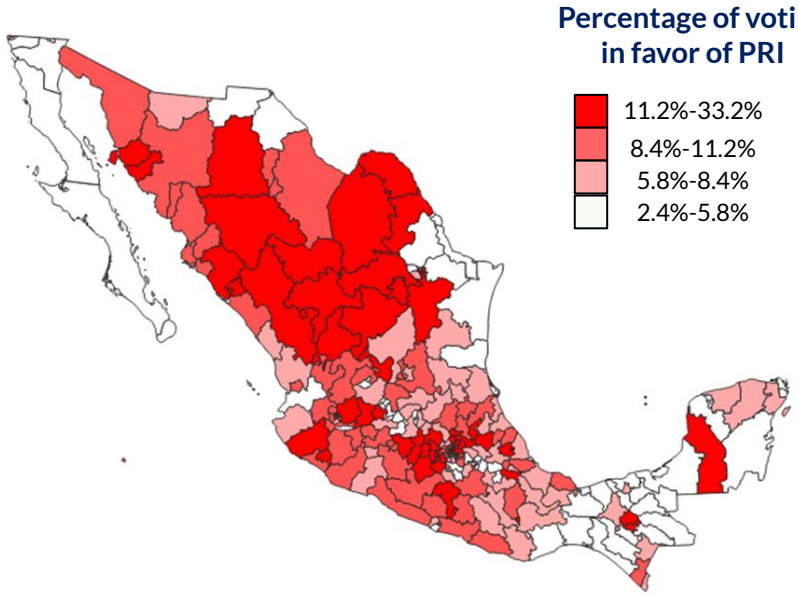


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

PRI vote, 2024

Federal Deputies

Voting in each federal district

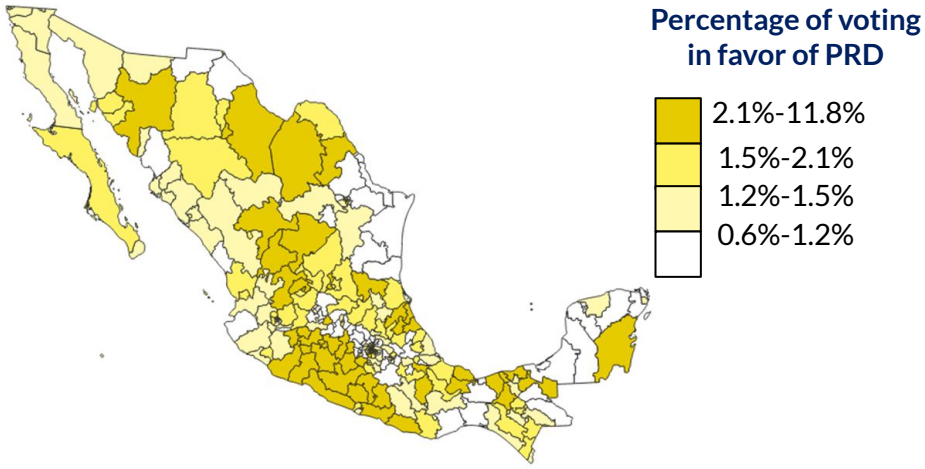


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

PRD vote, 2024

Presidency

Voting in each federal district

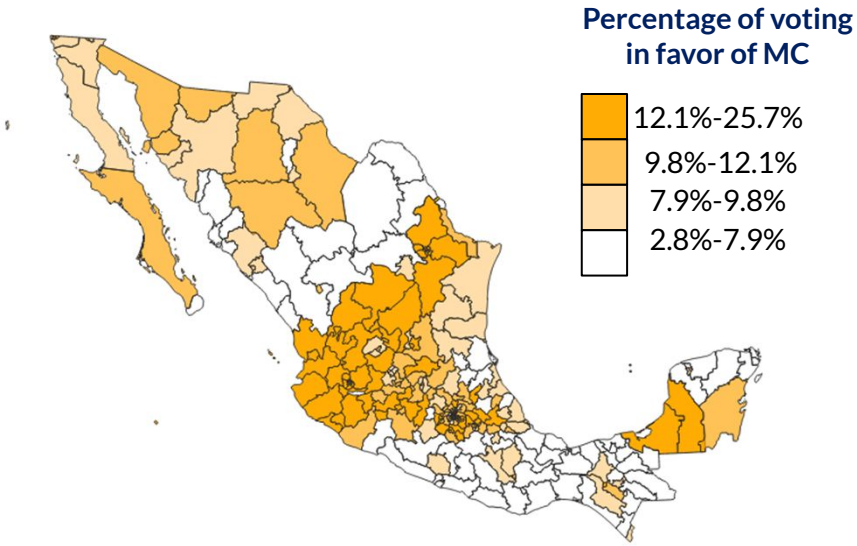


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

MC vote, 2024

Federal Deputies

Voting in each federal district

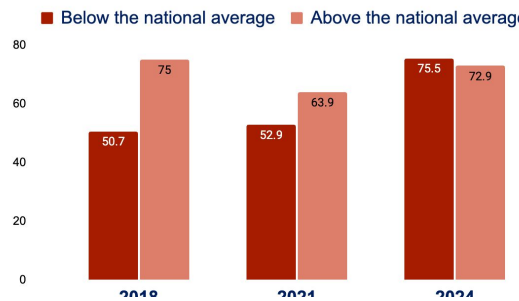


Source: In-house analysis with data from the district calculations of the INE.

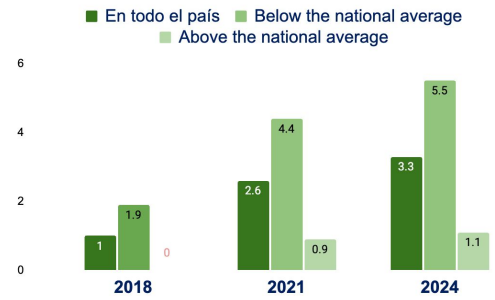
Voting behavior and educational level: Between 2018 and 2024 Morena received similar proportions of votes in all educational levels; in the case of PAN, the opposite was observed

Presidency

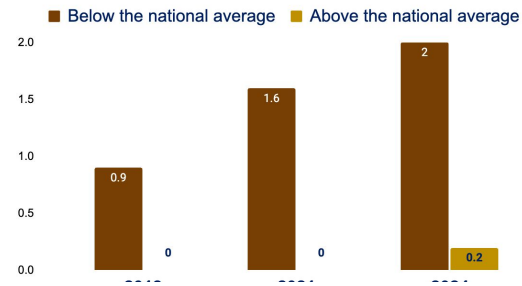
Morena - % of electoral sections won, by education level



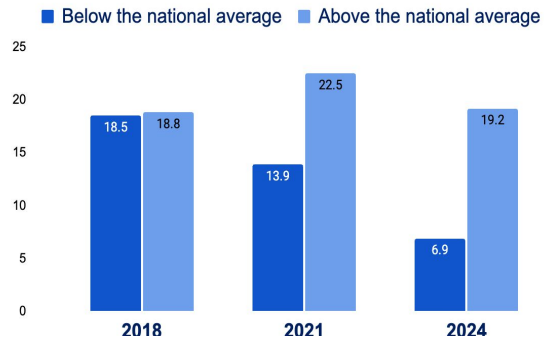
PVEM - % of electoral sections won, by education level



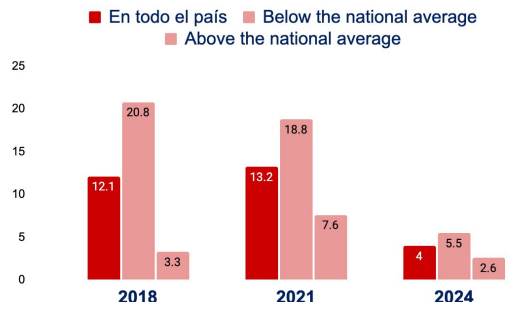
PT - % of electoral sections won, by education level



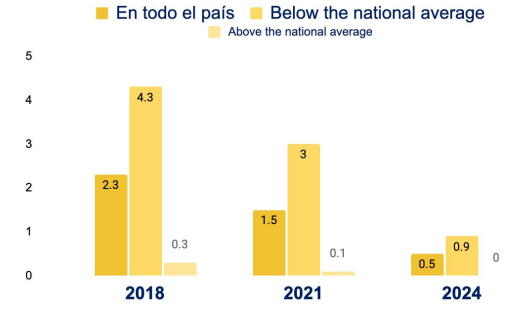
PAN - % of electoral sections won, by education level



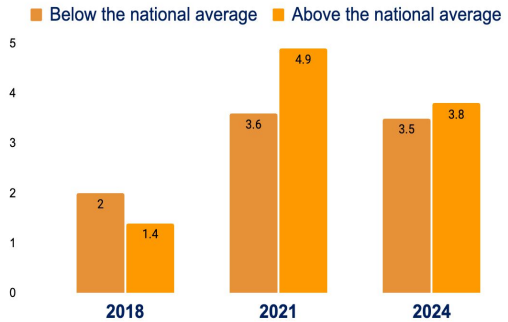
PRI - % of electoral sections won, by education level



PRD - % of electoral sections won, by education level



MC - % of electoral sections won, by education level



Source: In-house analysis with information on district counts of the INE, 2018, 2021, and 2024, and the General Population Census, 2020.
* Measured as the average number of completed academic years of the inhabitants in each electoral section, as measured by INEGI in the 2020 General Population Census.

integralia

Turnout is very high in sections with low educational level and high educational level

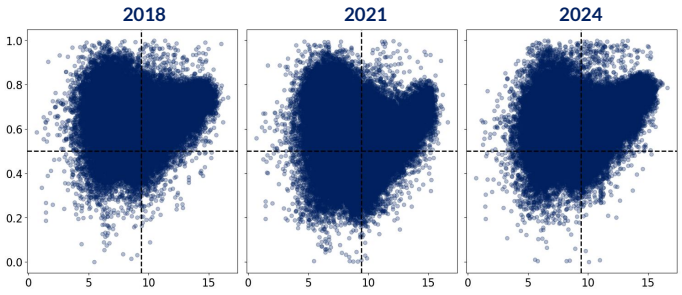
Federal Deputies

Turnout rate and educational level

A high turnout rate in sections with a low educational level reflects clientelistic mechanisms for electoral mobilization or coercion. Each point is an electoral section.

Participation rate by level of education for the whole country

Participation increases by clientelistic mobilization

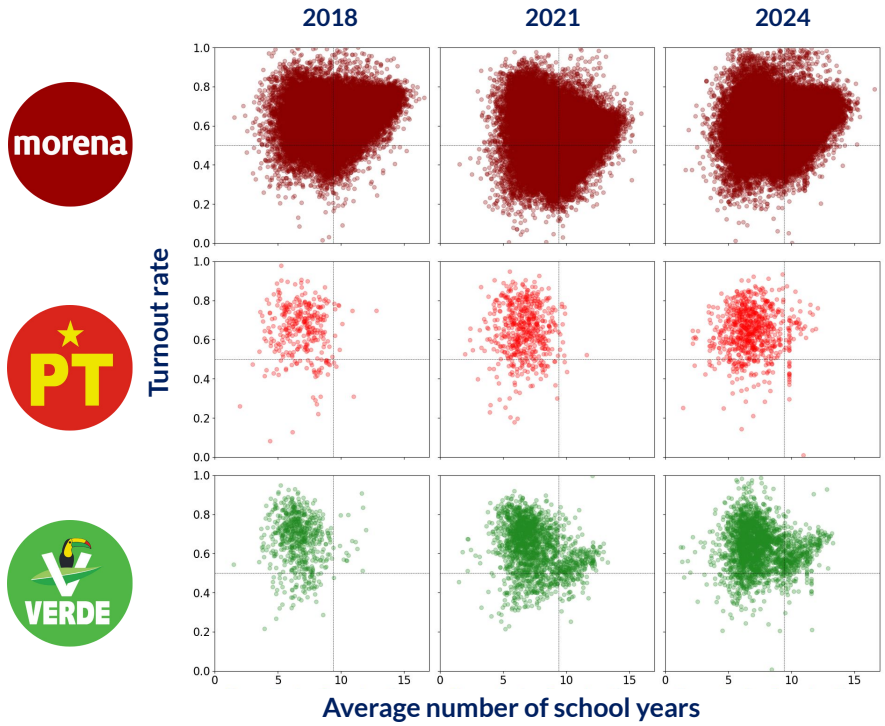


Participation increases with education

Source: District counts of the INE, 2024 and General Population Census, 2020.
* Measured as the average number of completed academic years of the inhabitants in each electoral section, as measured by INEGI in the 2020 General Population Census.

Morena scored victories in more sections in 2024 than in 2021 and even increased the turnout rate in a significant number of them. PT and PVEM also won with their clientelistic mobilization mechanisms.

Turnout rate by educational level in sections won by each party



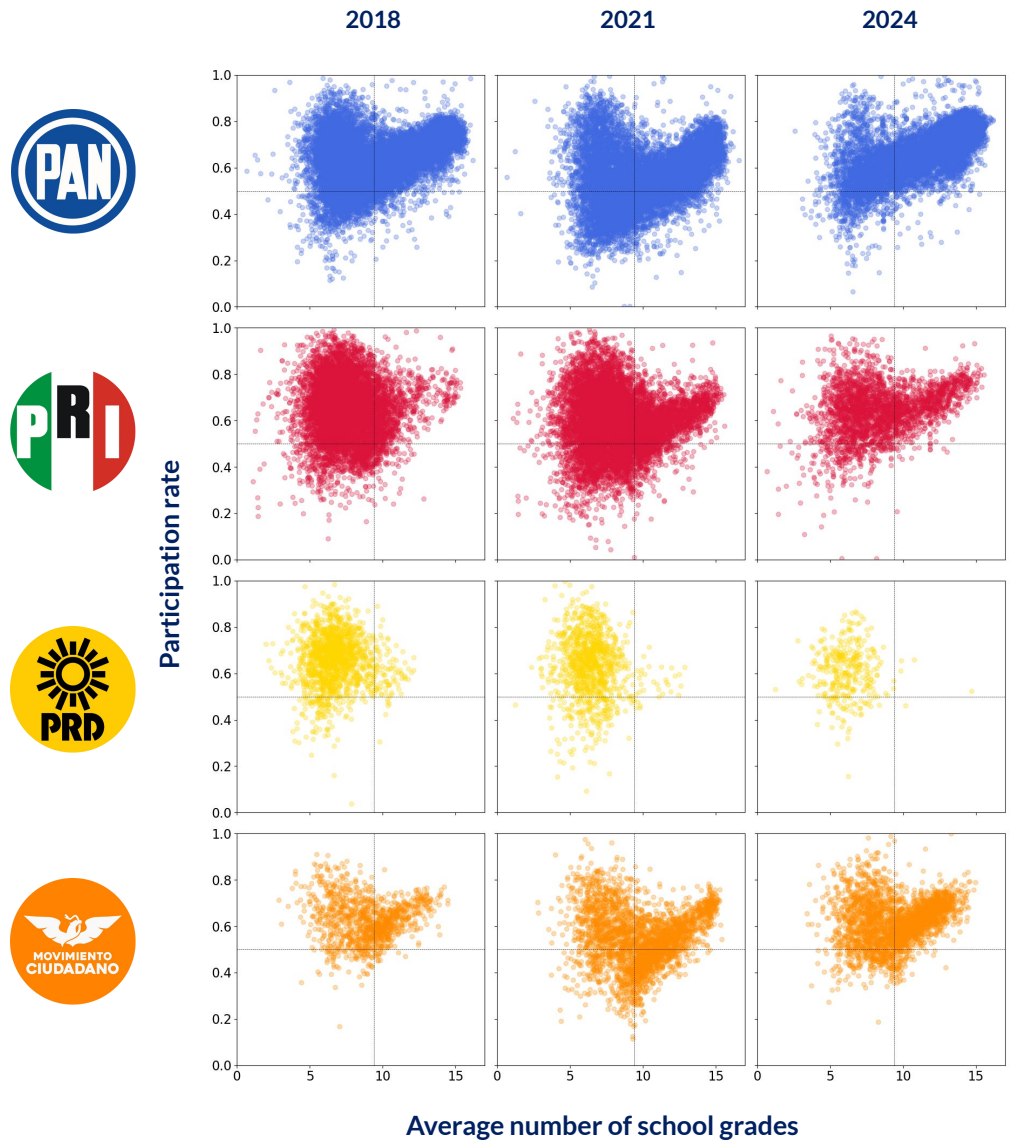
Source: In-house analysis with information on district counts of the INE, 2018, 2021, and 2024 and the General Population Census, 2020.
* Measured as the average number of completed academic years of the inhabitants in each electoral section, as measured by INEGI in the 2020 General Population Census.

PAN and PRI consolidated their electorates into sections with higher education but reduced their victories in sections with lower education

Federal Deputies

PRD saw its victories dry out during the six-year period, while MC consolidated its presence in all levels of education.

Turnout rate by educational level: Sections won by each party



Source: In-house analysis with information on district counts of the INE, 2018, 2021, and 2024, and the General Population Census, 2020.
* Measured as the average number of completed academic years of the inhabitants in each electoral section, as measured by INEGI in the 2020 General Population Census.

Morena's swelling support boosted PT and PVEM in the Chamber of Deputies

Federal Deputies

	Total	Proportion
Districts in which there was a MORENA-PVEM-PT coalition	260/300	87%
Districts in which the coalition won	219/260	84%
Districts in which the signaled postulated Morena candidate	124/219	57%
Districts in which the coalition lists nominated a candidate from Morena and the winning party was Morena	122/124	98%
Districts in which the coalition lists nominated a candidate of PVEM	57/219	26%
Districts in which the coalition lists nominated a candidate of PVEM and the winning party was PVEM	3/57	5%
Districts in which the coalition lists nominated PT candidate	38/219	17%
Districts in which the coalition lists nominated PT candidate and the winning party was PT	0/38	0%

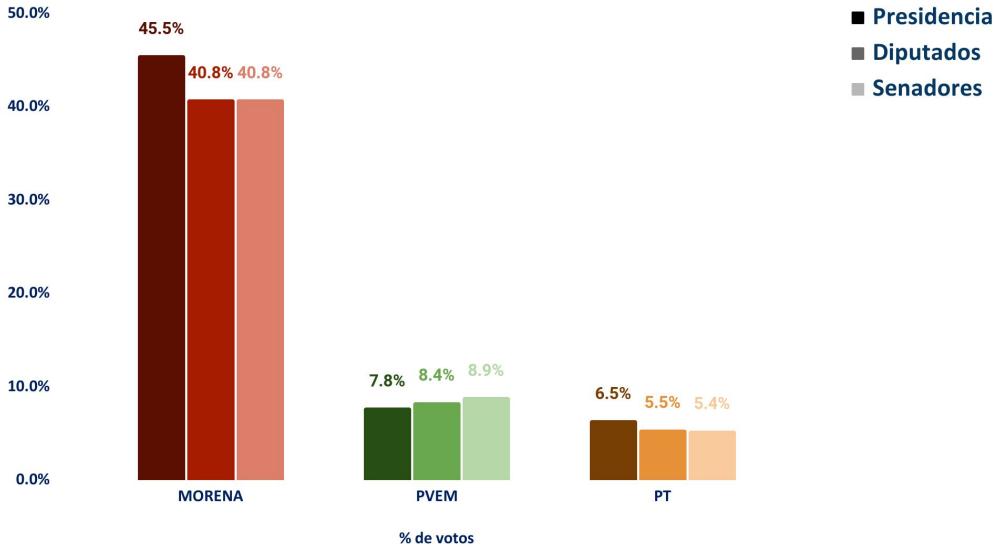
Source: In-house analysis with information from the coalition agreement and the district counting of the INE.

Sheinbaum received almost five more points than Morena in Congress; Xóchitl Gálvez received less

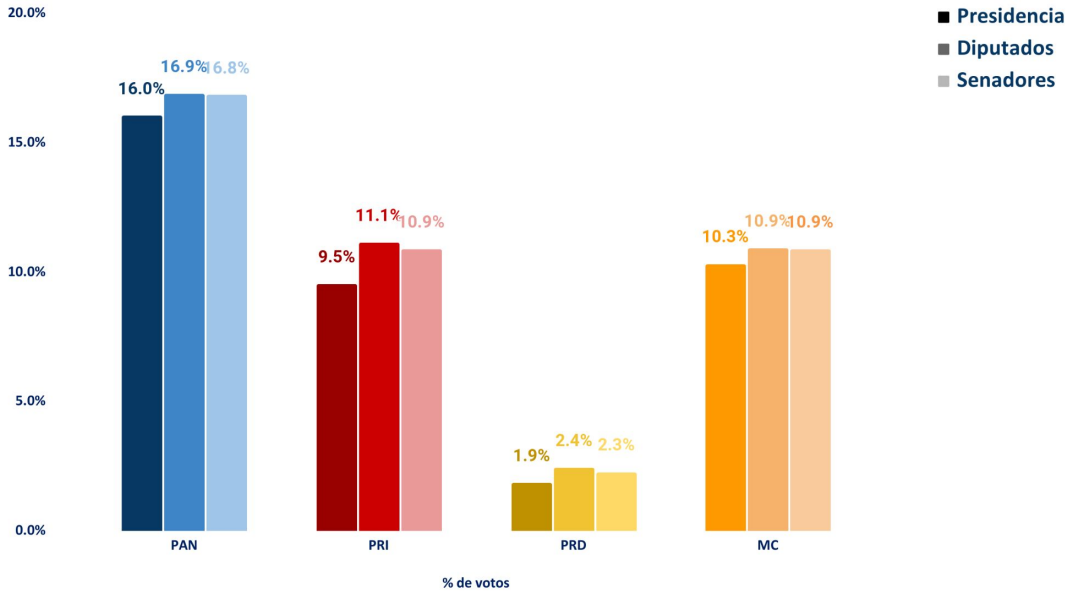
Cross-voting is the **difference** in the proportions of vote received by each candidate between presidential elections, deputies and senatorial seats.

Cross-voting: National percentages of vote per party nationwide

Sigamos Haciendo Historia coalition

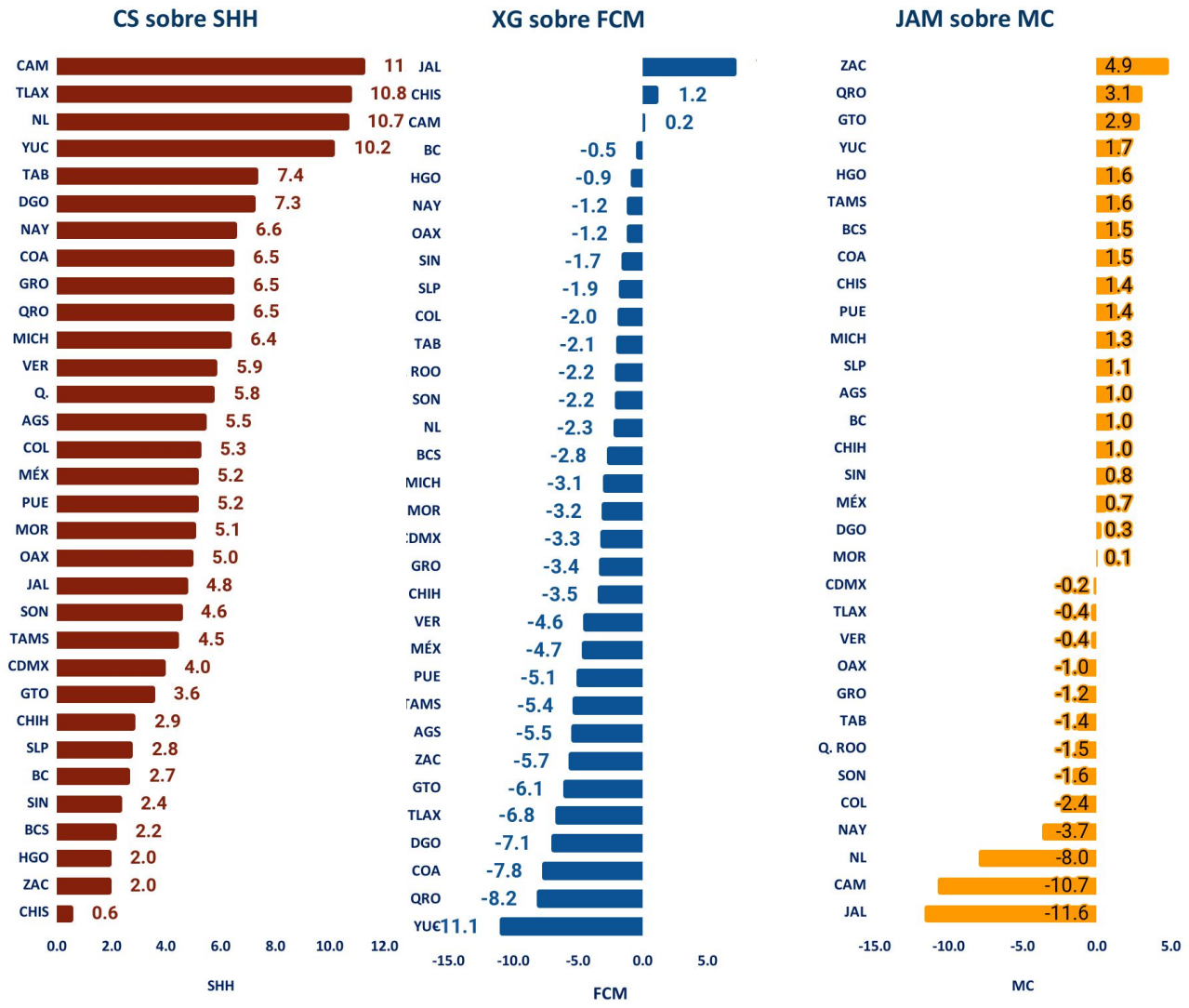


Fuerza y Corazón por México coalition



Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2024 district calculations of the INE.

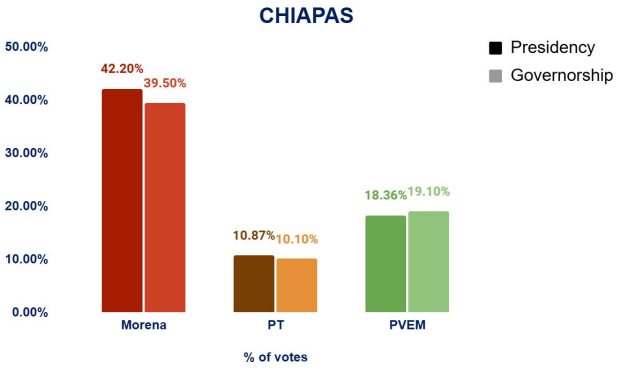
Sheinbaum performed better than Morena's candidacies to the Chamber of Deputies in all states; Xóchitl performed worse. Álvarez Máynez lost in the stronghold states of MC: Jalisco, Campeche, and NL

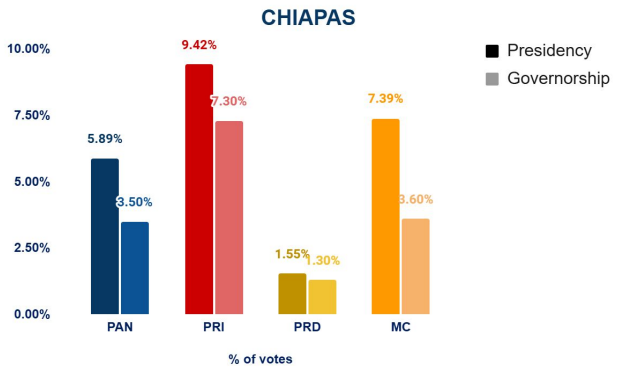


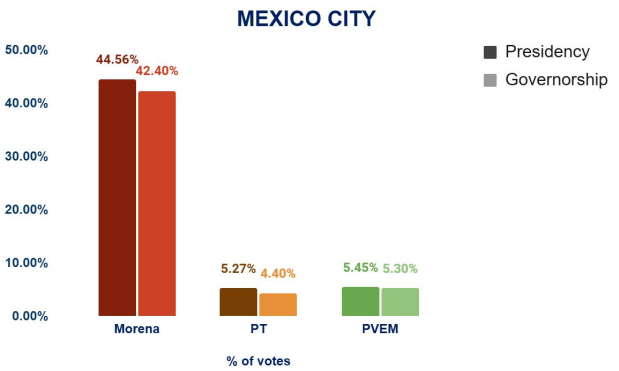
Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2024 district calculations of the INE.

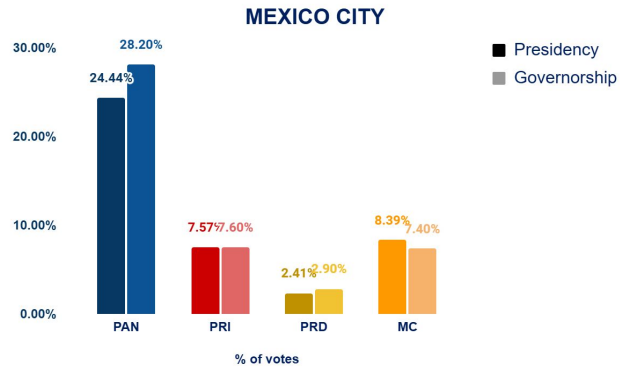
Sheinbaum also performed better when compared to the vote for governorships

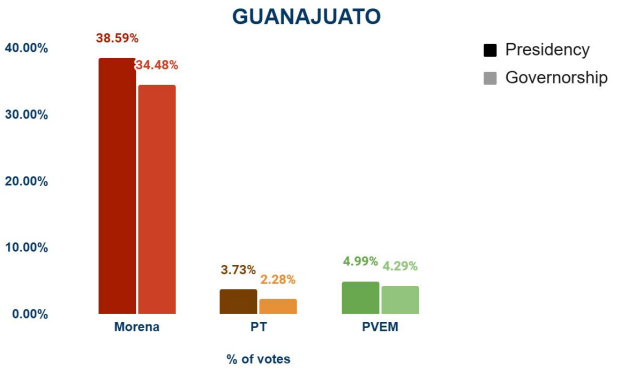
Cross-vote, results to the presidency vs. governorship, by parties

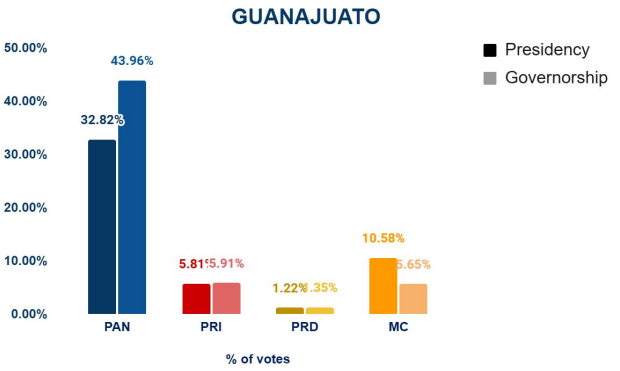








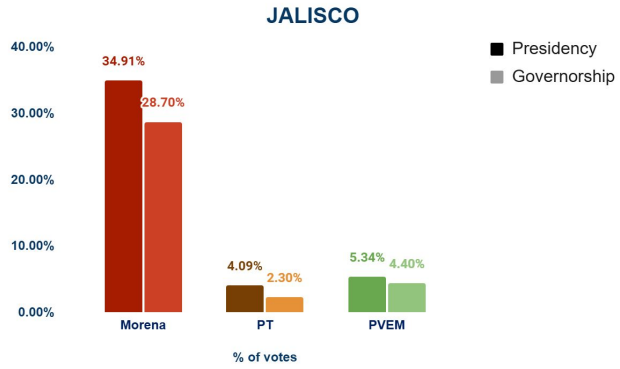


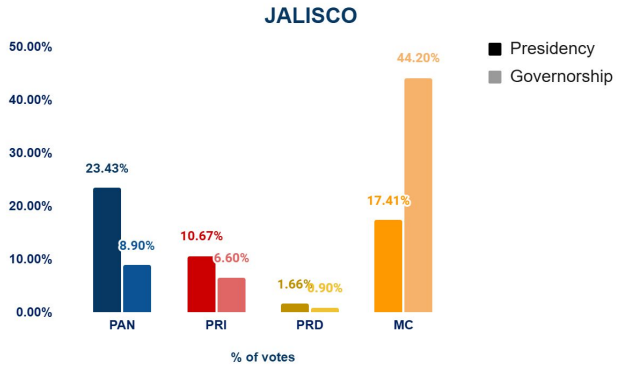


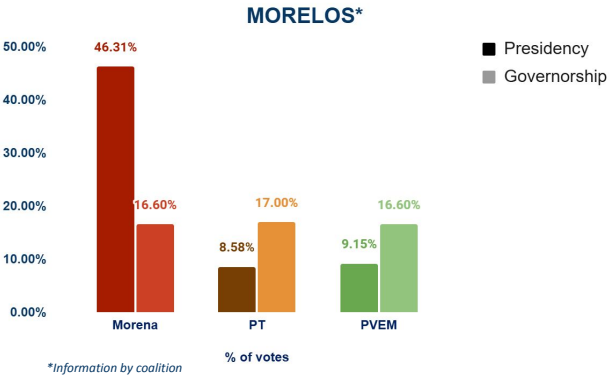
Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2024 district calculations of each state.

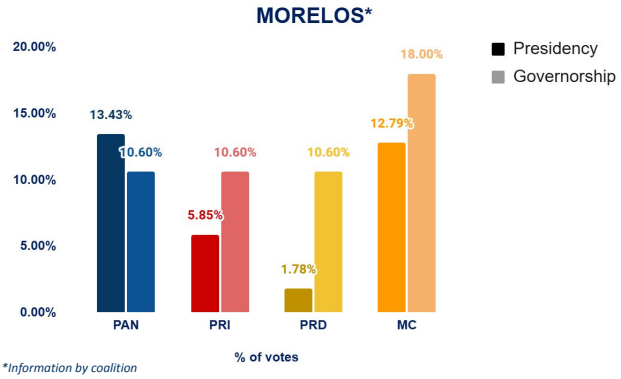
Sheinbaum also performed better when compared to the vote for governorships

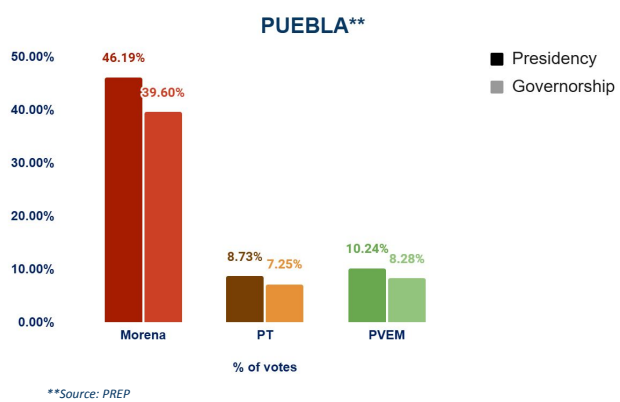
Cross-vote, results to the presidency vs. governorship, by parties

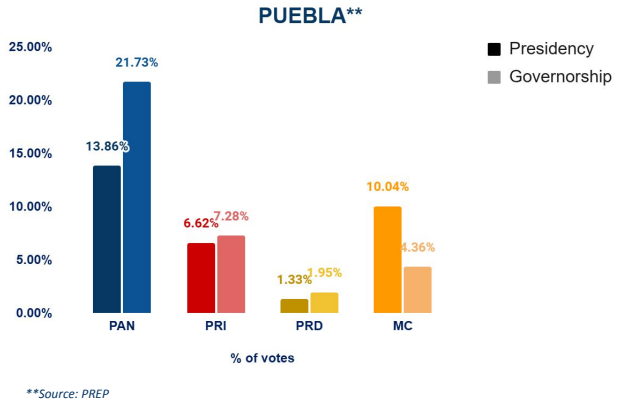








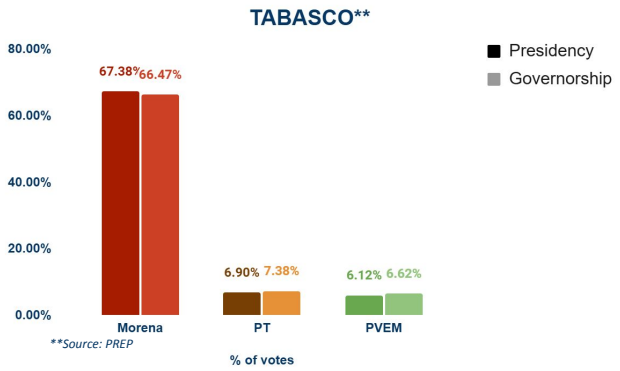


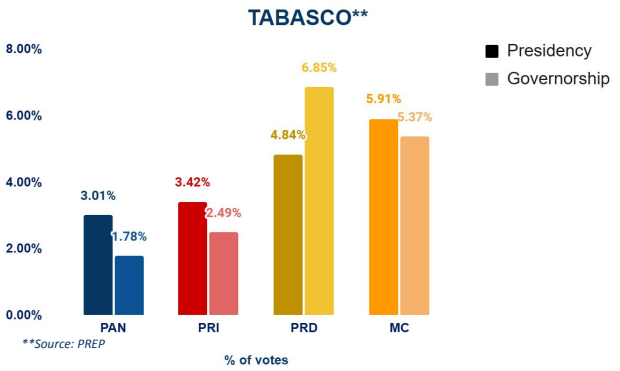


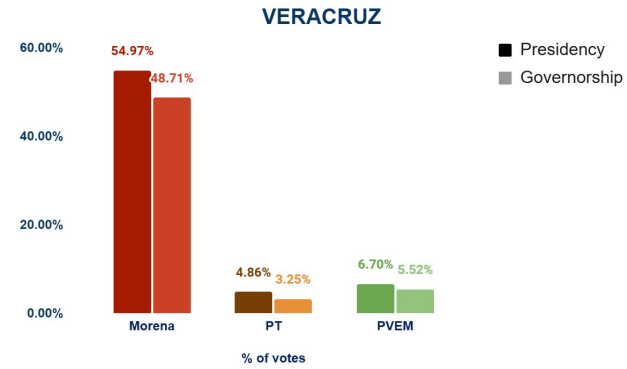
Source: In-house analysis with data from the district 2024 calculations for Jalisco and Morelos and the state PREP for Puebla.

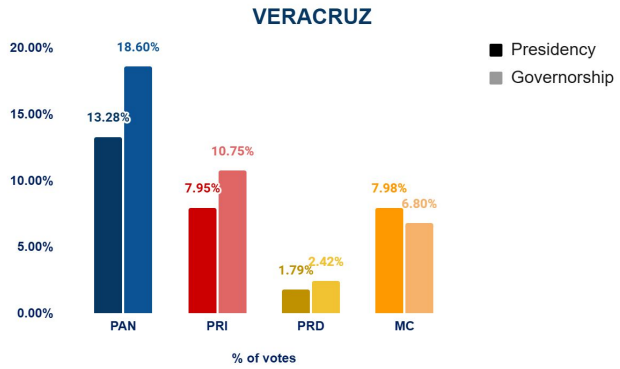
Sheinbaum also performed better when compared to the vote for governorships

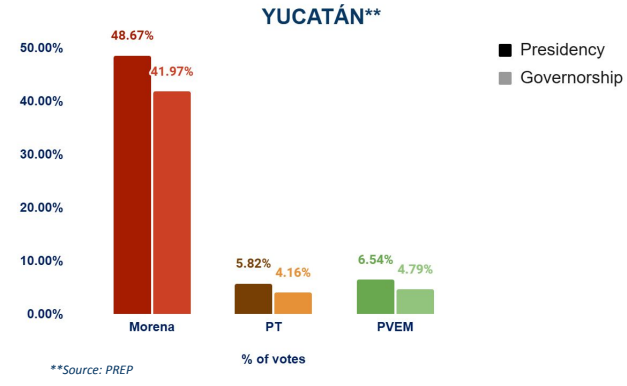
Cross-vote, results to the presidency vs. governorship, by parties

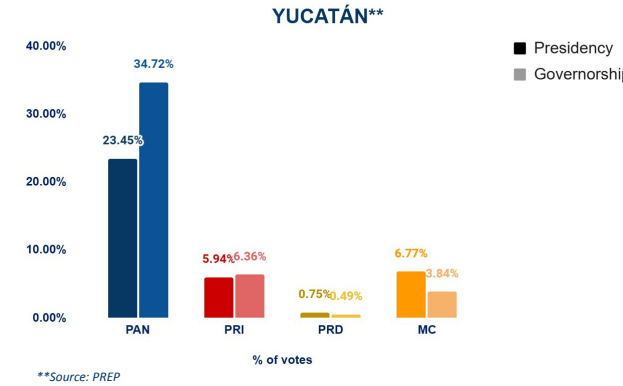












Source: In-house analysis with data from the district 2024 calculations for Veracruz and the state PREP for Tabasco and Yucatán.

Distribution of political power

Governorships

State	Winner	Margin of victory, percentage points
Chiapas	Eduardo Ramírez Aguilar (Morena-PT-PVEM)	70.7
CDMX	Clara Brugada Molina (Morena-PT-PVEM)	13.0
Guanajuato	Libya Dennise García Muñoz Ledo (PAN-PRI-PRD)	10.2
Jalisco	Pablo Lemus Navarro (MC)	5.1
Morelos	Margarita González Saravia Calderón (Morena-PT-PVEM)	17.5
Puebla	Alejandro Armenta Mier (Morena-PT-PVEM)	26.5
Tabasco	Javier May Rodríguez (Morena-PT-PVEM)	73.7
Veracruz	Rocío Nahle García (Morena-PT-PVEM)	27.1
Yucatan	Joaquín Díaz Mena (Morena-PT-PVEM)	9.3

Source: In-house analysis with data of the district calculations of each entity.

Balance of the governorships, 2024

Coalition	Number of states governed	% of the population governed, 2024	Percentage share of GDP, post election
Morena-PT-PVEM	**24**	**77.2%**	**67.1%**
PAN-PRI-PRD	**6**	**15.5%**	**17.4%**
MC	**2**	**7.3%**	**15.5%**

Source: In-house analysis with data of the district calculations of each entity, total population by federal entity, 2020 of INEGI and percentage structure of each entity, 2022 of INEGI.

Distribution of political power: Morena and allies achieved a qualified majority in the Chamber of Deputies and came very very close to one in the Senate

Chamber of Deputies

Party	MR	RP	Total	Coalition
Morena	161	87	248	373 (74.6%)
PVEM	57	18	75	
PT	38	12	50	
PAN	32	36	68	102 (20.4 %)
PRI	9	24	33	
PRD	1	0	1	
MC	1	23	23	24 (4.8%)
IND.	1	0	0	1 (0.2%)
Total	300	200	500	100%

Source: Integralia estimation based on district calculations 2024 of the INE.

Senate of the Republic

Party	PM	RP	Total	Coalition
Morena	46	14	60	83 (64 8%)
PVEM	11	3	14	
PT	7	2	9	
PAN	16	6	22	40 (31.3%)
PRI	13	4	16	
PRD	2	0	2	
MC	1	3	5	5 (3.9%)
Total	96	32	128	100%

Source: Integralia estimation based on district calculations 2024 of the INE.

Distribution of political power

Divided and/or juxtaposed governments: states in which the executive branch party is different from the one that governs the capital and/or the one that holds the majority in the local Congress.

Federal entity	Governorship Party	Capital City	Majority in Local Congress
Campeche	Morena/PVEM/PT	MC	Morena/PVEM/PT
Coahuila	PRI	PRI/PRD	PRI
Colima	Morena/PVEM/PT	PAN/PRI	Morena/PVEM/PT
Durango	PAN/PRI/PRD	PAN*	Morena/PVEM
Guerrero	Morena/PVEM/PT	PAN/PRI/PRD	Morena/PVEM/PT
Jalisco	MC	MC	Morena/PVEM/PT
Michoacán	Morena/PVEM/PT	PAN	Morena/PVEM/PT
Morelos	Morena/PVEM/PT	PAN	Morena
Nuevo León	MC	PAN/PRI/PRD	PAN/PRI/PRD
Querétaro	PAN	PAN	Morena/PVEM/PT
San Luis Potosí	PVEM	PAN	Morena/PVEM/PT
Sonora	Morena/PVEM/PT	PAN	Morena/PVEM/PT
Yucatan	Morena/PVEM/PT	PAN	Morena/PVEM/PT
Zacatecas	Morena-PVEM-PT	PAN/PRI/PRD	Morena/PVEM

Unified governments: states in which the executive power party is the same that governs the capital and has the majority in the local Congress.

Federal entity	Governorship Party	Capital City	Majority in Local Congress
Aguascalientes	PAN/PRI/PRD	PAN	PAN/PRI/PRD
Baja California	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena
Baja California Sur	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Mexico City	Morena/PVEM/PT	N/A.	Morena/PVEM/PT
Chiapas	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Chihuahua	PAN/PRI/PRD	PAN	PAN/PRI/PRD
Guanajuato	PAN/PRI/PRD	PAN	PAN/PRI/PRD
Hidalgo	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena-PT-PVEM	Morena
Mexico	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Nayarit	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Oaxaca	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Quintana Roo	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Puebla	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena/PT/PVEM	Morena/PVEM/PT
Sinaloa	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena
Tabasco	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena
Tamaulipas	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena/PVEM/PT
Tlaxcala	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena	Morena
Veracruz	Morena/PVEM/PT	Morena*	Morena/PVEM/PT

* In 2024 there was no election of municipalities in Durango and Veracruz but the current governments are included in the list to show the total accounting.

Source: In-house analysis with data from the 2024 district calculations of each entity.

integralia

We are a consulting firm in political risk, public affairs and strategic planning.

This document is for public dissemination. For more information about our products and services, contact denise.canto@integralia.com.mx

COORDINATORS
Luis Carlos Ugalde
Marina Reyes Roldán

DATA AND VISUALIZATION
Salvador Vázquez del Mercado
Tamara Vargas
Armando Vargas

COLLABORATORS
Mauricio Alfaro
Paulina Creuheras
Said Hernández

DESIGN
Ana Padilla